

INDIA ON CHINA

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Congress Political and Economic Studies—No. 9

INDIA ON CHINA

By

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Secretary, Foreign Department

FOREWORD BY

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

President, Indian National Congress



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國民革命軍第八路軍指揮部發用變

大抗戰 日軍的進犯 當精忠中國抗
戰勝的真相傳達給你們的人民

謹啟

軍令部 敬礼

朱德

十一月廿三日

山西第八路軍總司令

總司令

This little pamphlet contains the statements issued from the office of the All India Congress Committee during the past few months on the Japanese invasion of China. The voice of China in her distress reached the Indian people and found an echo and warm response in their hearts, and we have stretched out our hands in fellowship and solidarity to the suffering people of China. The response of the heart is more vital and deeper than the answer that the mind might give. And yet it is essential that our minds should appreciate the inner significance of the grim struggle that is going on in the Far East, for the future of the world and of India is intimately connected with it.

Allested

Jawaharlal Nehru

January 14. 1938

CONGRESS PRESIDENT ON CHINA

I have recently drawn the attention of the Indian people to the horrors attendant on the Japanese invasion of China and appealed to them to help our Chinese comrades by subscribing for medical supplies. I have today received an appeal for help from General Chu Teh Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army of China. His letter is in Chinese characters. I give a translation of it below. General Chu Teh, it will be remembered, was the Chief of the famous army which performed the prodigious feat some years ago of marching eight thousand miles in spite of almost insuperable difficulties. That feat is unique in military annals.

I suggest that Sunday January 9th, 1938 be observed as China Day throughout India and meetings be held and collections made for the purpose of helping the Chinese with medical supplies. All such contributions and collections should be sent to the Foreign Department of the A. I. C. C., Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad.

December 24, 1937

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Translation of Chinese letter from General Chu Teh to Jawaharlal Nehru. The letter is dated November 26th and is from Shansi, China :

We here in China have read in news dispatches that you called mass meetings in a number of Indian cities in support of our war of liberation. Allow me to thank you in the name of the Chinese people and in the name of the Eighth Route Army (the Chinese Red

Army) in particular.

You know that the Japanese have occupied many cities and our main railways in China. Our Eighth Route Army, the revolutionary army of the Chinese masses, is organizing and arming the people for prolonged warfare that will end in ultimate victory and liberation for us. This work of ours is difficult because we are a poor army. We are able to help the peasant partisans wherever we operate throughout the north, and they are rapidly becoming an organic part of our Army. But there is one problem that we cannot solve, and it is of this that I write to you now:

In those regions under actual Japanese occupation, such as along the railways in the northern part of Shansi, in Suiyuan and Chahar provinces, and in western Hopei, thousands of workers, peasants and students have spontaneously arisen, have captured arms, and are fighting in Volunteer bands against the imperialist army of invasion. These volunteers have arms, but they have no winter clothing, no blankets, no shoes, and little and often no food. Recently one group of 2,000 of them met and united with a unit of our army in the north-eastern part of this province. We were able to give them but one thousand Chinese dollars—which is only fifty cents per man. This money will suffice for one meal a day for about a week for them. Our problem is so gigantic that we are unable to help the Volunteers as they require. It is a problem always before us and we are trying to raise money here in China and in foreign countries for them. Miss Smedley has said that we could approach you, and that she feels certain that the Indian National Congress, of which you are President, would donate a sum which our Army could give to the Volunteers. You may know that every anna which you could give would be deeply welcomed and would reach the Volunteers and enable them to continue their struggle.

Perhaps you could form a committee to collect

money in the name of the Chinese Volunteers. If so, do so at once. We know there are millions of people in your country who sympathise with us in our struggle and would be willing to give something to help.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army of the Chinese people, I wish to tell you and the Indian National Congress, and the whole Indian people, that China is not subjected, nor defeated, and that we cannot and will never be subjected. Our Army will never retreat from North China. We will remain with the people, organizing and arming them and waging a ceaseless warfare upon the Japanese imperialist armies of invasion until the last of them are driven from our country, including from Manchuria. Do not be deceived by any lies or propaganda put out by the Japanese. Our struggle has only begun. The regular Chinese government armies are fighting. Ours will never be defeated, because we are the army of the people and increasing tens and thousands of our people are rallying around us, fighting with us.

We are a well-disciplined, well-trained iron army, and all our soldiers, from the new volunteers to the Commanders, have a high political training. We are fully and deeply conscious of the role that we play in Asia today and in the future. We know that we are fighting not only the battle of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, but we are fighting the battle of the people of all Asia, and that we are a part of the world army for the liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed classes. It is with this consciousness that we feel justified in asking you, one of the great leaders of the great Indian people, to help us in our struggle by any and all means. We would welcome financial help in the name of the Chinese Volunteers, we would welcome medical supplies and surgical instruments, we would welcome trained war surgeons and nurses and we would welcome volunteers who might wish to express their solidarity with us in our fight by fighting in volunteer units with our army.

We ask you to consider this question in all seriousness to intensify your campaign to help us, to broaden and deepen your movement for the boycott of Japanese goods, and to educate your people about the facts of our war of liberation.

If the Japanese were successful in subjecting China, none of the peoples of Asia could gain their liberation for many years and perhaps decades. Our struggle is your struggle.

Once more our Army thanks you from the depths of our heart for all you have so far done on behalf of our country.

In comradeship
CHU TEH

*Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route
Army of China*

* * *

I have received the following cable from John Dewey, Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell and Romain Rolland from New York :

"IN VIEW OF WANTON DESTRUCTION OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION AND FOR HUMANITY PEACE DEMOCRACY WE PROPOSE PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES ORGANIZE VOLUNTARY BOYCOTT AGAINST JAPANESE GOODS REFUSE TO SELL AND LOAD WAR MATERIALS TO JAPAN CEASE COOPERATION WITH JAPAN IN WAYS THAT HELP HER AGGRESSIVE POLICY WHILE GIVING CHINA EVERY POSSIBLE HELP FOR RELIEF AND SELFDEFENCE UNTIL JAPAN HAS EVACUATED ALL HER FORCES FROM CHINA AND ABANDONED HER POLICY OF CONQUEST WISH CONGRESS ENDORSE THIS STATEMENT GIVE PUBLICITY CALL ALL INDIA JOIN ACTION."

The following reply has been sent by me to Dr. John Dewey :

"YOUR CABLE CONGRESS ALREADY EXPRESSED CONDEMNAION JAPANESE AGGRESSION FULL SYMPATHY

CHINA CALLED FOR BOYCOTT JAPANESE GOODS AGREE GENERAL POLICY AND OBJECTIVE YOUR STATEMENT GIVING PUBLICITY CONGRESS MOST WILLING COOPERATE FOR HUMANITY PEACE DEMOCRACY EVERYWHERE FEELS ONLY TRUE BASIS FOR THESE ELIMINATION FASCISM IMPERIALISM."

In issuing these messages to the press I should like to draw the attention of the public again to the urgent necessity of abstaining from purchasing Japanese goods. Horror piles up on horror in China and armed might and the air-bomb and poison gas kill hundreds of thousands of her children and crush her very soul. We are sickened at the brutality and inhumanity of the Chinese scene. But mere sympathy is not enough. We must give such help as we can. This help can be of two kinds : refusal to purchase Japanese goods and financial assistance for medical relief. I trust that Congress Committees and other organisations will carry on propaganda for this boycott. Donations for sending medical relief will be received in the A. I. C. C. office and will be forwarded to the proper quarters. An urgent demand for medical supplies has been received by us and I earnestly trust that the people of India will give what they can for the relief of suffering and tortured humanity in China.

December 18, 1937

* * *

Horror upon horror piles up in China and Japanese imperialism tries to crush the spirit of the Chinese people by massacres of non-combatant men and women and even children. Flourishing cities are destroyed from the air and terror reigns in that great land. We see something of what modern war is, and we realise again the ruthlessness and inhumanity of imperialism. All over India mass demonstrations and great meetings

have condemned this and sent our deep sympathy to our brothers and sisters in China. They are fighting most gallantly for their freedom and, whatever suffering they may have to endure, they will win through in the end. How can we help them? A boycott of Japanese goods has been suggested not only in India but in other parts of the world. The suggestion is natural and justifiable and we must give it full consideration. The organization of such a boycott in India is not easy as Japanese goods are already controlled by the quota system and although a large variety of them come in, the quantities are limited. But it is clear that we must create the psychological atmosphere for such a boycott, and each one of us who feels the hurt and suffering and horror of China under Japanese aggression must avoid purchasing Japanese goods. But this must not be done in favour of other foreign goods. Mere sympathy is not enough. Let us do this much more at least to help the people of China in the hour of their trial and distress.

September 30, 1937

* * * *

The war in China goes on, undeclared in the approved modern way, but nevertheless ruthless and accompanied by the slaughter of thousands of human beings. Japanese aggression continues and the League of Nations, originally founded to protect the rights of people and to prevent aggression, has become so helpless and impotent that it dare not even discuss the urgent problems of the day, much less take a decision of them. Meanwhile fascism grows and tears up every international treaty and obligation. Britain, one of the principal League Powers, does not even protest and gives its indirect support to fascism. India, though not in a position to take any effective action, cannot remain a silent spectator of this tragedy, which might affect it consider-

ably. We must organise our protest and keep a vigilant eye on what is happening. I suggest that Sunday, September 26th, should be observed as a special day for this purpose, when we should condemn Japanese aggression on China and send our full sympathy to the Chinese people. We must also record our organised protest on the sending of Indian troops to China without the assent of the Indian people. And in doing so we should keep the larger danger of international war before us. The War Danger resolution of the Faizpur Congress should therefore be repeated and explained. I trust that Congress Committees will organise meetings all over the country for this day and pass these resolutions.

September 14, 1937

* * *

Cablegram to the International Peace Campaign, Geneva.

National Congress condemns Japanese aggression
China strongly protests against despatch Indian troops
Shanghai interests peace demand condemnation Japan as
aggressor and continuation Ethiopian delegation League.

September 10, 1937

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
President

* * *

*Cablegram to Mr. Jordan, Chief, New Zealand Delegation,
League of Nation, Geneva.*

National Congress strongly supports continuation
Ethiopian delegation League interests peace demand no
recognition aggression Ethiopia China.

September 10, 1937

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
President

Messages to China-India Committee in London

I am glad to learn of the formation of the China-India Committee in London. China and India are the two ancients among the nations of the world, with an unbroken chain of culture going back to the dawn of history. During these thousands of years innumerable bonds have tied them to each other, and the distress of China would in any event have drawn the sympathy of the Indian people. But the present invasion of China by an aggressive and brutal imperialism, and the frightfulness that has accompanied it, has stirred India as few things have done. Ourselves victims of imperialist domination, struggling to be free, we must give our whole-hearted support to all victims of imperialist aggression and to all peoples who struggle for freedom. The claim of a common humanity, the bond that has tied us for thousands of years, as well as self-interest, impel us therefore to show our full solidarity with the people of China in this hour of their agony. In this war-racked world it is well to remember that China and India stand and have stood for peace, and a day will come when their voices will prevail. We are weak today and unable to do much for the people of China but our hearts are with them, and it is well that we should do our utmost to help them.

I congratulate Uday Shankar and his colleagues on the benefit performance they are giving in aid of the China-India Committee. The silken bonds of Art have from ages past tied China to India and it is right that our great artist Uday Shankar should utilize his genius in aid of the people of China in the hour of their distress. Behind this gift lies the Indian people's deep sympathy and their assurance of full solidarity.

September 20, 1937

BOMBS OVER CHINA

The last three years have seen a world-wide relay-race in killing. Barely had the mass killing of human life run out its course in North-east Africa, when it was resumed with intense fury in West Europe. Asia in the Far East was meanwhile restless for tasting blood and could not wait for West Europe to cool down. At the present moment, mass killing is taking place both in Asia and Europe. It is true no doubt that most countries are still sticking out but that should not mean that there is peace in the world. The world is warring.

The present world-system is crashing. International law exists on sufferance and the world's Great Powers responsible for applying it are either violating it themselves or are just looking on. Whatever one's view of causes, it is indisputable that there is war in the world and the present world-order is collapsing.

Why has the present order successively collapsed in Ethiopia, Spain and China? Is it because of stray incidents during manoeuvres as in China or of assassination of individuals as in Spain? No, the causes go much deeper. The rulers of the world are this time quite frank about their designs and a proper understanding of their utterances gives us the clue. Fascist Italy proclaims that it must fulfil its national destiny through war and has the right and duty to build a Roman Empire in Ethiopia. Fascist Spain desires to purify and unite the Spanish nation in blood and proclaims its right and duty to protect property and religion. Militarist Japan cannot permit Chinese advancement unless under its own protection and must suppress China to establish cooperation and stability in the East. In all these utterances, there is one common idea. Imperialism, which is the guiding principle of the present world order, must fulfil its national destiny at home and build fresh empires abroad and, perforce, resort to wars.

What does imperialism mean by fulfilling its

national destiny at home? In order to understand this properly, we must grasp the realities of the nation in imperialist countries. The paramount reality is that the nation has finally disrupted into classes. Monopoly capital has on the one hand brought national economy under the control of a band of world financiers and on the other reduced broad masses to a state of unemployment and poverty. To attain democracy, both economically and politically, the broad masses are getting increasingly ranged against monopoly capital. Imperialism must now suppress this conflict at home through fascist control of the State and, in fulfilling national destiny through foreign wars, re-establish the unity of the nation.

What is behind this desire of imperialism to build fresh empires abroad? In its life-urge for capital accumulation, imperialism has continually searched for large markets. But it has already swallowed practically the whole world and its search can now only take the form of brutal suppression of all national freedom or bitter family wars. •

If not checked here and now by the forces of national freedom and those of democratic and socialist freedom, imperialism will continue to spread fire over the world as in the past three years till it finally plunges the entire mankind in a bitter family war of its own.

In China, Japanese imperialism has been denying all humanity during the past six months. Its bombs from the air have torn the limbs of children and women and its guns are killing or wounding thousands of Chinese soldiers every day. It is destroying universities and centres of culture and is sending great cities and large areas, which have been built up by centuries of human effort, into smoke. Where it is gulling the Japanese nation into the poison of militarism, it is forcing the great Chinese nation to bathe its heart in cold steel. Japanese imperialism should be held responsible, if this militarist spirit in the two nations makes the task of

reason, culture and progress difficult among one-fourth of the world's population.

India's sympathy goes out to China for a variety of reasons. India is aspiring and fighting for national freedom as China is. The forces of national freedom in both countries extend to each other the hand of sympathy and support. They must band themselves together against the imperialist life-work of exploitation and conquest. They must swear to prevent the use under imperialist control of their nations and soldiers in each other's territory. They must mutually defend themselves by refusing economic relations with the imperialist invader. They must prepare themselves for the day when they can strike a simultaneous blow at all imperialism. They must send each other, in event of need, monies, medical supplies and all manner of other possible help. On Sunday, 9th January, India will thus have to continue a four-fold task. (1) She must ceaselessly condemn the despatch of Indian troops to China and demand their withdrawal as also that of the Indian police attached to British consulates in China. (2) She must organise an effective boycott of Japanese goods. (3) She must ceaselessly train the people never to give men and supplies to the British Empire in its wars. (4) She must pay to China till it pacifies. The ancient friendship of the two peoples of China and India must now be reinforced by the new comradeship of the two freedom-loving nations.

While we condemn Japan and support China, we must not err in assessing the true role of Britain. Mighty machines of propaganda are in motion and we must withstand them. British communists are rejoicing through our own talkies, radio and press at Britain rearming to curb the "cynic's violation of right." The inference obviously is that Britain is a democracy, just and peaceful, and can be relied on to stand her arms by humanity against brutality. The addresses of the United States President are also likely to cause confusion.

In his insistence on the capacity of the democratic Powers to protect the peace of the world, one might see in British armaments a factor of justice and peace.

One thing must be clear. There is of course the danger of war in the boast of the Italian spokesman who calculates the Fascist bloc to contain 200 million men and to own 2 million tons of navies. But we would be foolish if we pitted against these the 3 million tons of American and British navies. Britain is as much a part of the imperialist system as Japan or Italy and, far from ranging their armaments against each other, we must regard them as one solid bloc against progress and peace. Against the armaments of fascism, India can only pit the desire of her people for national freedom. She eagerly welcomes the cooperation of all democratic and socialist forces throughout the world but considers that the formal democracy of the British State is only a shabby smoke-screen and British armaments are surely no part of the world's democratic forces.

If Britain rearms, and until British monopoly capital is destroyed, she does so to secure her own interests. And her interests throughout the world are large. Even in the East, where Japan is hurling bombs over China, Britain is still the owner of the largest territories where she steadily carries on the daily task of sucking. In India, Australia, Malaya and other colonies, she owns over one-tenth of the world's territory and one-fifth of its population. Under Britain's protecting wings, Holland and France own between themselves another 2% of the world's territory and 5% of its population. On the basis of Asia and Australia alone, Britain is responsible for the daily humbling of nearly one-fourth of their surface and one-half of their population.

The enforced satiation of British imperialism and the fascist conquests of Japanese imperialism differ only in the extent of their unmasked brutality but are alike in the damage they cause to human peace and progress.

One might also relevantly enquire if British arms have stood by peace and democracy during the eighteen months of the Spanish war and the six months of the fresh Japanese war on China. Day after day, cities are being destroyed and human life killed. British monopoly capital is so tied up with Japanese monopoly capital that, unless its own existence is imperilled and a war is forced on it, it must just look on. The answer to the challenge of fascism to seize the whole world does not surely lie in British arms. Britain will not fight and, even if that were to happen, how does it fundamentally matter if fascist brutality of Japanese imperialism were exchanged for the steady sucking of British imperialism.

Who can fight the fascist menace of reaction and war? There are the national freedom movements of India, China and other similar countries. There is Soviet Russia which has definitely discarded imperialism as the basis of its State policy. There are the democratic and socialist forces throughout the world such as the Popular Fronts and the World Committees for Peace and Democracy. In the unity of these forces lies the answer to the fascist challenge.

Even while we extend our hand of friendship to China in an effort to build creative peace, we must not forget that our supreme internal task in the removal of causes of war is to create the conditions for the capture of political power and the convening of the Constituent Assembly.

January 6, 1938

SINO-JAPANESE WAR

China is semi-colonial :

China has a government of her own. She possesses a national army. Her embassies and consulates are to be found in various parts of the world. In short, she possesses what are commonly supposed to be the external and internal attributes of a free sovereign Power. Even so, China is not free ; she is at best a semi-colonial Power. Her chief coastal towns, like Tientsin, Shanghai and Hongkong, and interior towns, like parts of Peiping, are under foreign control. Foreign garrisons stationed in these concessions are like armies of occupation, which have the support of their navy standing by, and of an air-fleet in the concession itself. China's rivers are completely denationalised, so that not only trade ships but gunboats under foreign flags can go up the river Yang-tze and other rivers till 1,500 miles in the interior. China's customs are security to indemnities imposed on her by old Treaties, which also grant foreign garrisons privileges of manoeuvring on purely Chinese soil. These are all distinct attributes of foreign territorial domination. What brings China still further under imperialist domination is the foreign investments and government loans. The total of British capital invested in China is estimated as Rs. 4,000 million and that of Japanese capital is calculated at Rs. 3,000 million. Likewise, other imperialisms have invested their capital either in private industry or government loans. So, Japan in the north, Great Britain and France in the southern provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan and these and the United States at the Central Government of Nanking have tried to dictate internal politics through loans. In this manner, both from the viewpoint of economic and financial bondage and of territorial control of vital nerve-centres of national life, China is not a free country.

China's frontiers, on the entire north, border on

Soviet Russia ; on the west and south, on Tibet and British and French possessions of Burma and Indo-China ; and on the entire eastern Pacific coast are faced by Japan and her two colonies of Korea and Formosa and the United States Philippine Islands. This ring of foreign Powers surrounding China is vitally interested in her and exercises great internal control in some form, or the other.

Chinese Government and Political Parties :

Regional War-lords supported by the feudal gentry and big merchants and foreign money continued to rule parts of China, even after the 1911 Revolution, which established the shortlived Sun Yat Sen Republic. Sun Yat Sen, however, lived to see his Three Principles (1) Nationalism, (2) Democracy, (3) People's Living embodied in the Government of South-Eastern Kwangtung and Canton became the hope of all-China peasants, workers and students. With the help of Russian military and political advisers, an expedition was planned here in 1926 which, as it proceeded northwards, would suppress the anarchy of war-lords and unify all China under a democracy, put an end to foreign domination and secure people's living by curbing landlords and capitalists and through national reconstruction. The expedition succeeded and Nanking became in 1928 the capital of a national Government of China. However, foreign concessions and armies continued and imperialist debts were not repudiated. Few war-lords were deposed and most only owed nominal allegiance to Nanking. Landlords continued their oppressive rule. The Government at Nanking did not achieve what was originally planned : The Three Principles of Sun Yat Sen.

The organisation that planned the northern expedition and sought to embody the Three Principles was the Koumintang (People's Party or the National Revolutionary Party). As the expedition progressed, it soon became clear that there were three sections in the

Koumintang and they were heading for an internal clash. The Right Wing under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, had sectional support among the people, but was not prepared to forego the support of foreign money or break with the feudal and war-lords. It was this section that won. The Left Koumintang carried on for some time in Central China, but found its real seat in 1931 in the Kwangtung province. It was hostile to Chiang Kai-shek's association with foreign capital and inland oppressors. After the apparent success but real failure of the 1927 nationalist drive, the Communists were suppressed and workers' and peasants' organisations smashed. But they soon established their rule in the province of South-east Kiangsi and, after a recent adventurous march over 8000 miles of territory, the Red Army is now in the north-western province of Shensi, which is the centre of popular resistance and within easy reach of Soviet Russia, through Inner and Outer Mongolia.

The decade until early this year was a period of civil wars, war-lords, anarchy and not very successful efforts at national reconstruction. Chiang Kai-Shek wished to unite China by reducing Red China to submission, but, in spite of six military expeditions, did not realise his objective. Meanwhile, the political impulse of democracy and the economic motivation of betterment of the masses was cutting across the overlordship of militarists and feudal gentry and giving to the 450 million folk in isolated villages and provincial towns a common nationalist and progressive outlook. This found its chief expression in the popular cry of resistance to Japan. It appears that the policy of unification of the country through military force that the Nanking Government pursued for a whole decade has now been definitely abandoned for that of unity through democracy and resistance to imperialism. Some sort of a United Front with a better mass basis than before seems now to be in progress.

Japan's Urge to Imperialist Expansion :

Like every other nation that developed a strong capitalist class that needed foreign markets for exchange of manufactures with raw materials and for investments of surplus capital, Japan has during the last 40 years struggled for colonies. Ever since September 1931, when Japan invaded Chinese Manchuria, her urge to imperialist expansion has been expressed through the Army and in the continental drive against China. The Japanese navy, on the other hand, has preferred the oceanic or southward drive, which has set greater value by the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Siam. In these areas, Japanese commerce has already made great headway, as for example, in the Dutch East Indies the Japanese share in the total imports increased from 1.25% over the pre-War period to 30% in 1934. At the same time, commercial conflict here brings Japan into closer antagonism with Britain, France and Holland. Before the conflict in North China arose, it was anticipated that Japan will increasingly adopt the southward drive of the navy as against the continental drive of the army. However, the actual development has been otherwise.

On the world plane, the drive of Japan against China is a continuation of that of Italy against Ethiopia. The urges are the same and the interests involved are the same. The economy of the imperialist country deteriorates and political unrest among the masses grows and the danger of war further necessitates the securing of essential raw materials and strategic positions. In 1935, Italy projects her tentacles into Ethiopia; in 1937, Japan into China. Aside from the inevitable opposition of the invaded peoples, the interests of other imperialist Powers are involved and there is a singular likeness in the manner of their expression in the two cases.

Conflict in North China :

The five northern provinces of Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan which make up North

China contains a population of 82 million and, though only 9% of the total area of the country including Manchuria, they embrace 18% of its population. North China is among the most populous and fertile parts of China and is also richly endowed with mineral resources. Thus, the total coal reserve of China is estimated at 250,000 million tons and North China alone contains 53.91% of this total. In the mining companies operating here, British and Japanese capital is vitally interested. Whereas Manchuria contains nearly 80% of the total iron ore reserve of China, North China possesses another 10% or 123 million tons. The iron ore of North China is of a superior variety. Of the entire textile industry, North China possesses a spindlage of 20% or 1 million spindles and a loomage of 25% or round 12000 looms; of these Japan owns nearly three-fourths. This will suffice to show the extent of North China resources and the hold that Japanese and other foreign capital has already obtained over these.

Japan's further advance from Manchuria into North China was checked at Jehol and, during the last three years, she had to content herself with the engineering of an indigenous provincial autonomy movement. Meanwhile, the aggressive freedom movement had affected the students of Peiping and workers and peasants all over and found its focal point in resistance to Japan. Already before the conflict broke out, North China was convulsed by cries of boycott and resistance against Japan. It was in the province of Shensi, adjoining the North China province of Shansi, that Chiang Kai Shek was held captive in December, 1936, and from where the beginnings of a United Front among the Nanking Government, Left Koumintang and, to an extent, the Communists are laid down.

On the night of July 7th, there was some firing between Chinese soldiers and the Japanese who were manoeuvring on the purely Chinese soil of Lukou-chiao. The Japanese contend that they had the right

to do so according to an old treaty of 36 years ago. It is also difficult to say who exactly started the firing. Nevertheless, the Chinese contend that the bridge of Lukouchiao is strategically very important and gives control over the Peiping-Hankow railway. Japan sought to consolidate its position in North China by controlling this railway and thus cutting off the northern provinces from Central China.

Further progress of the conflict reveals the swash-buckling tactics of imperialism. The Japanese demanded on July 17 of the Nanking Government that it should cease all military movements, in other words, leave North China to its fate and that the North China Political Council was competent to arrive at a settlement of the incident. The Nanking Government replied that North China was a part of China, that the army and political affairs of North China could not be interfered with by Japan and that all negotiations and settlement must be entered into directly with the Central Government. Japan insisted on division; Nanking insisted on unity.

The progress of the war-fronts has also showed that whether Japan originally planned it or not, the actual line of advance is along the Peiping-Hankow railway.

Imperialist Rivalries :

Britain is the major imperialist Power in the Far East and desires to complete her Singapore Eastern Fleet of 94 vessels by 1940. She is friendly to France in her control of the 23 million Indo-Chinese and to Holland of the 60 million Javanese and Sumatrians. Aside from the domination over the Philippines and other islands, the United States has extended considerable loans, as for instance two recent Rs. 300 million wheat-and-cotton and aeroplane loans, to the Nanking Government. Britain is of course still more vitally interested in the coastal towns and on the mainland of China.

Germany and Italy have also helped the Nanking Government with military advisers and air-pilots. China and the Far East bristle with imperialist rivalries and that is also one reason why China is so much in the news.

Still, Japan's intrusion into China is unwelcome and badly so to these imperialist Powers, but not to the point of war. Japan's defeat means strengthening of Soviet Russia and her increased association with a strong China. It also means the slipping away of Chinese concessions, Malaya, Indo-China and East-Indies from imperialist domination. Imperialist Powers have to choose between attacks on their position by a colleague who has run amuck and a general destruction of the imperialist system itself. And so Britain has learnt to relegate deadly wounds to her ambassador in China to their proper place in the scheme of things, but she has also known how to burst up with righteous wrath and cannon shots to revenge her poor missionaries.

Indian Troops to China and War Danger :

Into this graveyard of British, Japanese, American and French bayonets, Indian troops have been sent by the British Government. They are apparently intended to defend Indian property and men and incidentally also English property and men. India has naturally enough protested emphatically against this use of her sons. The despatch of Indian troops to China is detestable ; it is disgusting firstly, that Indians should be slaughtered on foreign battle-fields for imperialist purposes and, secondly, that India should help tighten the octopus grip of Britain over China.

The colonial peoples themselves have helped in spreading imperialist oppression over the world. The history of our own people bears tragic testimony. The British Empire in India was built piece by piece ; troops from Bengal and Madras defeated those of the United Provinces and together they helped to crush the freedom

of the Punjab and Burma. In our first struggle against British rule, Punjabis and Princes helped Britain to come out victorious. Even in our own day, Indian troops and police are standing guard over British property and consulates in China and other Eastern countries. A people that is aspiring for freedom cannot permit this disgrace.

Were Britain to fight Japan, which is very unlikely, Indian troops, then also, should not fight Britain's battle. In the event of an Anglo-Japanese war, the advantage that might accrue to China from our military assistance to Britain will only be temporary ; for, finally, it will only strengthen Britain's hold. India can help China better by freeing herself from British control and, then, rendering her such assistance as she can. India can become, perhaps a more effective partner, in the Mutual Assistance Pact that has recently been signed between Soviet Russia and China.

In like manner, the cry of boycott of Japanese goods as an assistance to China can have meaning only if it does not result in increased trade of our country with Britain. Imperialism is a whole mighty chain and endeavours to break a link somewhere must not be allowed to strengthen another elsewhere. Again, China suffers from British imperialism almost as much as from the Japanese.

Actually two wars are in progress today, one in China and the other in Spain ; and there are numerous other subdued war-fronts as in Ethiopia and elsewhere. When these isolated war-fronts will get linked up into a world war, it is difficult to say, but this may not be far off. India has made up her mind what she will do when this happens. The Indian National Congress will resist India's participation in a war alongside Britain. The people must prepare for this resistance.

September, 23, 1937

ANXIETIES IN NORTH CHINA

On 2nd June came a news-item from Peiping that the Central Government at Nanking had imposed a ban on the Tientsin-Tokyo air-link. This air service which was to connect North China with Japan was to have been Japanese managed and its inauguration was fixed for 1st June. On the same day appeared news from Tokyo that a Japanese owned farm in the suburbs of Tientsin was burnt down by the Chinese. On 9th June came news from Peiping that 4000 of the civil population in Jehol have risen in rebellion against the Japan-Manchukuo troops. Sino-Japanese relations in regard to North China affairs are steadily deteriorating and anxious times for the preservation of peace in North China are ahead.

Aside from establishing the autonomous East Hopie regime, Japan has been acquiring increasing control over the economic life of North China. The Japanese semi-Government Oriental Development Company acquired last year 3 Chinese cotton mills of Tientsin. At present the Japanese own a total of 688,000 spindles, while the Chinese are left with 332,000 spindles. In China as a whole, the Japanese owned 39.29% of the 5 million spindles and 44.86% of the 48000 looms. An example of the Sino-Japanese economic cooperation is to be found in the recently organised Tientsin Electric company. Through a series of manipulations, the Chinese interest in this company was reduced to a mere 25% controlled by the Tientsin municipality and even this capital was borrowed from the Japanese.

China is no longer prepared to stand by and see slices of her territory and her economy go under imperialist control. Coupled with the rising national consciousness in China, the general uneasiness in the Far East has become acuter and a series of conversations and negotiations are being held between England and Japan. Anxious to secure her empire in the East, Great

Britain is playing the sedate game of maturer but no less destructive imperialism. Her attitude is best expressed in a recent editorial of the London Times: "Britain is fully prepared to recognise the obvious fact of Japan's special position in China, but she cannot view with sympathy attempts to consolidate that position by methods too often employed in the last six years". To that the semi-official Chinese Press replies that the terms "special position" and "spheres of influence" could no longer be applied to China and any understanding with foreign powers can only be brought about on the basis of equality and reciprocity. China's attitude is stiff but also adapted to the peculiar exigencies of her situation. In an interview the President of the Chinese Government (Executive Yuan) evaded the question as to whether China will take up the question of Manchuria and her other lost territories after the North China question is satisfactorily solved but added that a settlement of the North China question will definitely improve Sino-Japanese relations.

While China is thus steering a middle course between complete diplomatic rupture with Japan and surrender to her, she is also busy negotiating with other Powers for loans and commercial treaties. Though it was definitely stated that the mission of the Chinese coronation delegate, Dr. H. H. Kung, to London did not consist in the raising of a loan in Great Britain, Dr. Kung himself stated that he will welcome cheap foreign credit. In like manner, the special appointment of a Russian officer in China to negotiate a commercial treaty with her is looked upon as something more far-reaching. Simultaneously, Russo-Japanese relations are worsening. The Russo-Japanese Fishery convention was the subject of a serious diplomatic crisis last year and its renewal at the end of this year does not appear to be easy. Frontier incidents are daily increasing and there is a race between the Japanese army concentration in Manchuria and the Far Eastern Red Army of Russia.

The unification of China sustained on the will of her

people and not on the bayonets of the army is giving her a new consciousness of power. And, what is more significant, she does not appear to be overreaching herself.

The New Government in Japan:

The new government has estimated a budget of 3,200 million yen, out of which more than 50% go to armaments, 900 million for the army and 800 million for the navy. At the same time, Prime Minister Konoye said on 13th June that the policy of armed force will be abandoned in favour of the pacific economic penetration of North China. How this will actually work out, nobody can foretell, but there is a decided climb-down in the swash-buckling tone that Japan is wont to adopt towards China.

It is not yet clear how the Minseito and Seiyukai parliamentary parties will finally react to Konoye. These had agreed upon a joint front and joint campaign to pull down the Hayashi Cabinet. Their joint statement read in part, "At such an hour, those who are holding the helm of the State must have a clear vision of the emergency situation, abide by the will of the Throne and respect the desire of the people in conducting the administration, so as to surmount all difficulties. It is high time to formulate a lasting scheme on a nation-wide scale for the maintenance of peace and order in East Asia and the promotion of national prosperity through industrial development, defence replenishment, and the improvement of the living standard of the people."

How far the new Cabinet will express the oceanic or southward policy of the navy as opposed to the continental drive of the army is not clear, but the navy today is decidedly more popular with the Japanese people than the army. The oceanic drive will embrace Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, French Indo-China and Siam. These territories produce 85% of the world's rubber and 94% of its hemp, possess the largest oil

fields in the Far East and abound with iron, tin, sugar and tobacco.

Some facts regarding Japanese position in this part of the world may be noted. From 1.25% over the pre-War period, Japan's share in the Netherlands Indies market jumped to 16.38% in 1931 and to 30.96% in 1933. In 1934 Japan exported goods for yen 158,450,525 to the islands, (30% of the total imports of the Dutch East Indies), in exchange for imports valued at yen 63,464,068 (5% of Dutch East Indies exports). A Japanese Lieutenant Commander says in regard to these islands, "It is no exaggeration to say that they constitute the strategical key to Australia, New Zealand, and India, not to mention Singapore." It is said that Holland has retained the islands for two centuries "only by sufferance of Great Britain" and there are rumours of a secret British-Dutch military understanding. The investments of the Royal Dutch Shell Company in the Indies amount to 600,000,000 guilders. Holland has announced an increased war expenditure of 50 million guilders during 1937-38 over 1936, thus bringing the war budget to 138.9 million guilders. (Rs. 100=67 guilders)

.....By 1940 the Singapore base with its dry docks and repairing yards—the largest, best equipped and most strongly defended British base east of Suez—will be completed. A new Imperial Eastern Fleet is to be created consisting of a minimum strength of 94 vessels, including 5 battleships and representing a capital outlay of some £70,000,000.....Japanese relations with Siam are very cordial and yet Siamese finances are based on a large sterling reserve and Britain dominates the southern end of Burma—Japanese statesmen have assured the world that in the penetration of South-Eastern Asia exclusively peaceful methods will be employed. (From American Foreign Policy Report: Anglo-Japanese Rivalry in South-east Asia).

JAPAN WANTS CHINA

Japanese capital and trade have made a twofold thrust during the past ten years. In the east, the Continent of China is the victim. In the south seas, expanding Japanese trade, owing to imperialisms of Britain, France and Holland, has not yet resulted in colonial investments. The Army of Japan has supported the Continental drive, while the Navy has espoused the thrust into the South Seas.

From the political viewpoint the Continental drive has been easier. The opponent here is weak and disorganised. Chinese nationalism has not yet succeeded in building up a common organic outlook or a central government of undisputed authority. Chinese capital is still on crutches and armaments are in a similar state. Only the New Beginning was started ten years ago and the spirit of Life and Culture has now seized China.

Japan bore the shame of brown and yellow inferiority much as any other people in Asia. She had luck and the rest of Asia looked up to her as a deliverer and an inspiration. People forgot the basis of that luck. Japanese industry and trade, sense of national glory, army and navy had brought luck and they had to be continually reinforced if this luck was to be maintained. Where could Japanese industry and capital, army and navy find easy and continual reinforcements? Not surely in Indo-China for that would bring Japan into conflict with France or in the East Indies where Holland supported by Britain would fight or in Malaya and other Pacific islands for Britain and United States were preferable as friends. China was the country. The inspiration vanished and Japan launched upon a career of imperialism in the manner of Britain.

Japan struck at Manchuria and after the capture of Jehol, knocked at the five provinces of North China. These provinces are among China's best lands: they are in size only one-tenth of the country but they contain

about one-sixth of its population. They are very rich in mineral resources, coal and iron and are also great producers of food and commercial crops. About one-fifth of the Chinese textile industry is concentrated here. As granary and investment and source of war materials, North China is of the greatest value to Japan.

Capital and trade had preceded the land armies and gun-boats. Nearly three-fourths of the textile industry in North China is already owned by Japanese capital. Together with British capital, it has the dominating share in coal and iron mines. The power-house of Tientsin, North China's largest city, is almost entirely Japan-owned. Japan was ready to link by air Peiping and Tientsin to Tokyo as the war in North China broke out. She was also buying up land and settling Japanese farmers.

Before Japan resorted to war, she tried other tactics. She encouraged a provincial autonomy movement. The five provinces of North China were slowly to drift away from the Chinese central authority, or in other words to come under the increasing advisory, financial and military control of Japan. The North China provincial autonomy movement was the political counterpart of the Japanese economic penetration.

This movement had obviously no mass basis in the people of North China. Its sole advocates were the classes created or helped by Japanese capital. These were sections of Chinese merchant-class, administrators, mayors of towns and captains of local militias. Whatever little importance they acquired was due not so much to any popular following they had as to the key-positions they held and the weakness of the Chinese central authority.

A change came over China. While the mass of peasants, workers and students in North China were rebelling against Japanese economic domination, an end of the Chinese internal strife was becoming evident. Through intelligent appreciation of the existing situa-

tion and good-will on both sides, Nanking and Red China were coming closer together. There is now one army and one government in the whole of China. China can now direct her unified energies against the Japanese offensive in North China.

The war between China and Japan is expressive of the great Empire-Colony conflict in the entire Pacific area. Should we lose sight of the contours of this larger conflict we will help neither China nor other colonial peoples. Temporary passions may sway us into grievous mistakes, as an otherwise rather intelligent Chinese leader in Burma has been swayed. Writing to us a comprehensive report on the Sino-Japanese war, our Chinese correspondent has given us impressive figures of increasing British and Dutch armaments in Singapore and East Indies. He takes delight in the increase of British and Dutch arms and considers them a check to Japanese imperialism and so a guarantee of peace. This is short-sighted reasoning and neglects to see the Chinese war in the larger perspective of the Empire-Colony conflict of the Pacific. In this larger Empire-colony conflict Britain is even more of an imperialist than Japan. How can we delight in British arms? The lasting help that the colonial people of the East can give to China is to throw off their own foreign rules and thus destroy or weaken the stranglehold of Britain and France and such other Powers over China.

November 28, 1937.

CHINA IS CHANGING

In December, 1936, the Head of the Chinese Government, General Chiang Kai-Shek, was kidnapped and held captive in the city of Sian by his provincial Army-chief, General Chang Hsueh-Liang. This incident shook China and threatened to shake the world. The factors of rivalry, ambition, a bankrupt treasury and all that were summoned to explain Chang's conduct, but it soon became clear that Chiang Kai-Shek's arrest was meant to express resentment against the Central Government's policies, both external and internal. Internally, the Central Government at Nanking has for the past seven years followed the policy of unification of China by expeditionary forces and repression and, consequently, it has had little time externally for resistance against Japanese and other imperialisms.

The Sian incident expressed in a dramatic manner China's intense feeling against Japanese imperialism, and whatever its ultimate effect, it led, in February, to the meeting of the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang to consider the future policy of the Government. The manifesto it has issued lays down the preliminaries for a New Beginning.

China had awakened to new life in 1926 and the Kuomintang (Peoples' Party) became the universally accepted and vitally dominant political organisation. In the province of Kwangtung, South-eastern China, a military expedition was planned and carried out and this expedition was to unify China, free her from imperialist control and introduce democratic reforms. Soon after the entry of Chiang Kai-Shek with a part of the expeditionary forces into Shanghai, the Central Government at Nanking discarded the original principles of the Kuomintang and launched on a career of understanding with foreign imperialisms, rupture with Soviet Russia, suppression of workers' and peasants' unions and war on the Chinese Communist Party. The

awakening of 1926 had a triumphal progress but ended in utter confusion and internal conflict.

The Kuomintang split and the South-east has since largely been under the control of its left wing. The Communist Party grew, brought the province of Kiangsi under its control and formed a Red Army of a hundred thousand strong. In September 1931, began the Japanese thrust into Manchuria and the history of China has since then been an unending tale of territorial usurpations by Japanese imperialism. After Manchuria, the Japanese army cast its eyes upon North China proper. The people rose into a fury as if lashed and the December 9th (1935) Movement based on Peiping students and workers stemmed the Japanese invasion. Chinese nationalism now sees in Japanese imperialism its chief enemy and the centre of popular resistance has shifted from the South-east to the northern provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shensi and Suiyuan.

Meanwhile the Red Army has marched from South-east Kiangsi, over 8000 miles of territory, into the north-western province of Shensi. It is now again in the centre of popular resistance and, within easier reach of Soviet Russia, through Inner and Outer Mongolia.

The February meeting of the Kuomintang took place with this background. Till the Sian incident, the Nanking government was committed to a policy of "internal pacification to precede external resistance," which meant that its war machine was directed against the Red Army. A change in this policy appears to have been recorded. Mr. Wang Ching-wei, Chairman of the Central Political Council, thought that, of the three problems facing the Kuomintang and the nation, the most important was the recovery of lost territories and determined defense of the rest of China. Stabilisation of internal conditions was the second problem and the hope was expressed that the communist-suppression campaign may be brought to an early end. Promotion

of economic reconstruction was emphasised as the third problem.

Conditions were also laid down for reconciliation between the Nanking government and the communists. (1) The Red Army has to be abolished as a separate unit and incorporated into the unified command of nations' armed forces. (2) The Central Government is to be supreme and the Soviet republics are to be dissolved. (3) Communist propaganda is to cease and class struggle must be stopped.

It is interesting to compare these conditions with those of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. The Party stops its armed fight against the National Government and is prepared to bring its territory and army under the direct direction of the Central Government and the Military Affairs Commission. The Party also puts an end to the policy of confiscation of land from landlords but demands the determined execution of the joint programme of the anti-Japanese national united front. There is obviously a difference in emphasis but the two sets of demands are capable of yielding a platform of negotiations and ultimate settlement.

The decisions in regard to the positive united front programme of the Kuomintang are not yet known. The proposals of the Communists are known. They demand (1) speedy concentration of all national forces against Japan, (2) safeguarding of civil liberties, (3) convocation of a National Congress.

The Sian incident may only have dramatised the inner conflict of China but what has followed in its wake is of a very far-reaching significance both to China and the world. It is true that the National Government at Nanking has, among its social bases, the support of feudal and bourgeois interests and understanding with foreign imperialisms. But it is also true that China has begun to feel the Japanese stripes on its flesh and the Nanking government can, only at its peril, neglect the

large mass of peasants', workers', students' left Kuomin-tang and communist opinion in the country.

After a decade of continuing civil war, the February decisions of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang are likely to change the directive of the Central Government's policy from war on communism to resistance against Japan. Chiang Kai-Shek can already think of railway construction for economic and defence purposes; in April, he outlined a five years' plan of 8500 kilometres of railways. The four hundred fifty million folk of China with a territory twice as large as that of India is again on the front-line of world anti-imperialism.

May 5, 1937



THE UNITY OF CHINA

A huge population spread over an equally huge territory is a very natural prey to disunifying tendencies. Still, despite their many languages and religions, codes of Confucius and Buddha gave the Chinese people an essential cultural unity. This unity has expressed itself in many forms, in art and thought, and, above all, in living. It was, however, unable to form the Chinese nation into a single political community, particularly, when China was brought face to face with the modern industrialised world of Europe. Slice by slice, Chinese territories were transformed into foreign concessions and the general imperialist domination of her entire economy aggravated the political disunity of China. The basis of her agriculture continued to be feudal oppression which expressed itself, in the sphere of administration, through a multitude of rival militarist hordes. Foreign trade created another class of compradores, Chinese middlemen of Shanghai and elsewhere, who grew in political importance. Imperialism, feudalism, militarism, compradorism were the disunifying factors that pulled the Chinese nation into different directions and they had but a poor economy to rest upon. That China had in 1931 a railway mileage only one-fifth that of India and, in proportion to their respective territories, only one-hundred-thirtyfifth that of England is expressive of the comparative absence of a nationally unified market and of a national economic structure.

Till Dr. Sun Yat Sen expressed the urge of the Chinese people to feel and act as a unity, the suzerainty of the Chinese Emperor over his realms was only nominal. The ruling caste was itself party to the disruption of the country into rival militarist camps and it had so far decayed that it could neither preserve the freedom of China nor restore her to unity. In fact, freedom and unity of the country were, as elsewhere, two facets of the same political task which could now be carried out

only through a popular upsurge. A democratic movement of the people was required to crush the disruptive trends of militarism and imperialism and to so reconstruct the people's psychology as to create a United China. Such a movement alone could so model the country's economy as would enable the people to live and progress and withstand the disruptive trends. Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Three Principles of national independence, political democracy and people's living arose, in reality, out of one basic principle, the democratic upsurge of the people.

As few other factors in world history, Dr. Sun Yat Sen's Testament and Three Principles have been and are a guide to this ancient people of hoary and continuing traditions in the task of recreating itself.

When the Expeditionary Force of the Kwangtung province in South China started north-wards in 1926 on its mission of unifying China in a democracy, a series of struggles of the masses had preceded it and had partially trained the people into resistance to militarism and imperialism. More than the military strength of the Expeditionary Force itself, the open welcome given it by the people of China assured its victory. The speeches and leaflets of the Expedition's propagandists were brought into more frequent use than the bullets of its soldiers. A general feeling of national resurgence spread and the Chinese people looked forward to victory, freedom and unity.

The People's Party, Koumintang, embodied this national will and was, at the same time, the director of the Expeditionary Force and the organ of the people's struggles. As director of the Expeditionary Force, it trained up an army on the lines of a national militia, a competent General Staff and able Commanders and Generals. As organ of the people's struggles, it organised among the Chinese people the desire to democratic unity and led their struggles against feudal oppression in the villages and imperialist exploitation in the cities.

Soviet Russia's help in money and military and general advisers contributed in no small measure to the original strength of the Koumintang and its Expeditionary Force.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the fate of this expedition. Armed forces entered Shanghai under the command of General Chiang Kai Shek who eventually succeeded in establishing a Central Government in Nanking. The Nanking Government spoke in the name of the Koumintang. It did not however provide for internal party democracy. A pro-Nanking Executive assumed all power and no provision was made for plenary sessions of the Party Congress at which this Executive and its government could have been compelled to ask for the renewed confidence of the Party. The unity of China that was to have been brought about under the leadership of the Three Principles suffered serious setbacks. The freedom of China was more a juristic appearance and, though some efforts were made by the Nanking Government to translate it into reality, they were largely unsuccessful. Imperialism conceded in comparatively minor matters such as autonomy in the levying of customs duties on foreign trade but, on the whole, it continued to dominate China both territorially and economically. Through denationalisation of strategic cities known as foreign concessions and international settlements, control over rivers and railways, business investments and government loans, different imperialist Powers maintained their grip on China. During the last ten years of its rule, the Nanking Government has suffered further losses of territory to Japanese imperialism in the shape of Manchuria and Jehol. It has no doubt sought to improve People's Living through improvements in agriculture, transport, currency and education, but these have barely touched a fringe of the Chinese problem. In like manner, a gulf yawns between what was set for in the way of a creative and democratic unity of the Chinese people and what has been attained. Nanking did not permit democratic liberties of expres-

sion and association without which a people, with landlords and financiers in its midst, is hardly in a position to express itself creatively. Certain provincial generals nominally owing allegiance to the Central Government were also free to continue the old militarist tradition. While democratic urges which alone could create a United China were held under check by Nanking, Left Koumintang in the South and a moving Red China were brisker in their rate of development. This disparity took such a serious shape that a major part of the energies of the Chinese people has during the last decade been devoted to a series of civil wars between Nanking China and Red China. Distracted China, despite partial advances, remained a disunited China.

Why did the achievements fall so far short of the expectations? Before we enquire into the weaknesses of the Chinese movement itself, we may as well form a background picture of imperialism in China. China has been peculiarly unfortunate in being the battleground of many conflicting imperialisms; Britain, Japan, U. S. A., France, Germany and Italy have all had their individual say in Chinese affairs. Imperialist intrigues and brutality have been far too much of a drag on Chinese national recovery. The story of Japanese imperialism ever since 1931 has been an unending series of wars on Chinese freedom. It has had recourse to bribery, intimidation and quite often, bombs. It has rested on a modern and organised economy. In contrast, the weapons of the Chinese were moulded in the shape of a backward and agricultural economy.

The Koumintang was both the director of the Expeditionary Force and the organ of the people's struggles. These are two distinct functions and sometimes a divergence arises between them. The roots of such a divergence are mainly social; the composition of a society, different classes and their mutual relations, is at the back of it. Some classes may want to forge ahead with the people's struggles and, thereby, create a united

national will ; while others may desire to suppress these struggles and emphasise instead the virtues of diplomacy and tact. Such a conflict of class desires did in fact arise within the Koumintang and the Chinese freedom movement. That eventually a divergence arose between the two functions of the Koumintang was due to this conflict. But, perhaps, this divergence has a significance of its own. Perhaps, the Koumintang was premature in assuming the function of directing an armed force. As the organ of the peoples' struggles, the Koumintang had inevitably to rely on the ideological advance of the masses and their organised peaceful strength. Was the mass of the Chinese people sufficiently advanced, ideologically and organisationally, to master a military machine ? A revolutionary movement that seeks to bring about democracy and unity among a people has to be careful about its own military machines lest they should devour it. The military machine of the Chinese democratic revolutionary movement did in fact strengthen the hands of those in the movement and the General Staff who believed more in the virtues of diplomacy and tact than in the faithful carrying out of the revolutionary programme.

The Central Government at Nanking was the work of that wing of the Koumintang which accepted the entry into Shanghai as the end of the nationalist endeavour. Shanghai is not only the principal port but the biggest industrial centre of China. Whoever controls Shanghai controls China's finances and, so, dominates the whole country. The entry into Shanghai, therefore, of armed forces of the Koumintang was naturally acclaimed with great national jubilation. However, British, Japanese and United States gunboats were standing by and ready to strike and several Koumintang generals in the hinterland had only recently learnt to pay homage to popular democracy. The Koumintang section which cried halt, considered the Expedition a closed chapter, accepted the Shanghai base and desired to build a United

China on it got its chance. It sought for recognition by imperialist Powers and got it. It received the assistance of Shanghai compradores, Chinese capitalists and merchants. It secured the benevolent tolerance of feudal militarists in the hinterland. After securing the social base of Chinese capital and feudal elements and saving itself from imperialist gunboats, the Nanking Government attempted to reconstruct China on the lines of the Three Principles.

This proved an impossible task. Nanking was early faced with the question : Is Chinese unity to be born out of bourgeois leadership and feudal alliance or is it to be the outcome of the democratic upsurge of the Chinese people ? Nanking's answer left no doubt that, not only would the unity it may achieve be superficial and of ill-defined allies, but the freedom it may secure would be equally halting and hedged. Unity and freedom were two aspects of the same task ; only a democratic movement of the Chinese masses could break the shackles of internal feudalism and external imperialism and, thus, achieve unity and freedom.

Nanking thought it wise to adopt the policy of least resistance, of "accept what you have got and build on its base." A section of the Chinese people, however, thought otherwise and felt that, even with the entry into Shanghai, the task of the national revolution was not yet completed. The peasants still suffered feudal oppression, the workers suffered severe exploitation in imperialist and Chinese factories and these and the students still suffered the humiliations of foreign rule. The Chinese Communist Party organised this suffering and gave it expression.

Workers of Shanghai and Canton were killed by the thousand in 1927-28 and the peasants fared no better. The unity of China was caught between the truckling of Nanking to feudal elements and the suppression of workers' and peasants' movements.

Nanking however held the trump card. Not only

could it rely on Chinese and imperialist finances, but it had the majority of the people on its side, at least, not against it. There was a widespread feeling of victory and that something had been achieved which had to be preserved. A great number of people were willing to accept the entry into Shanghai as the finale of the Northern Expeditionary Force. Their revolutionary enthusiasm felt like celebrating a victory. This was hardly the occasion when the revolt against Nanking could have spread infection. It could have done so only if there had been adequate clarity among the people as to the various ways in which imperialism exercised its control and drew support from the Chinese vested interests.

It is true that the programme of confiscation of large landed properties was forced on the Communists as a result of the feudal offensive and betrayal of the Three Principles. But, whatever its justification, this programme served as an irritant. Easily, the impression grew that Communists differed from Nanking in their desire for Socialism and a Soviet China. It could not as easily be made clear that they differed from Nanking also in their desire for a Free and United China. Left Koumintang should not, as it did, have lent its support to Nanking and have, thereby, disrupted the unity of China between the reformism of Nanking and the revolutionism of the Communists.

During the last ten years, Nanking has engaged in six major battles with Red China. Despite occasional military defeats, Red China has each time eluded the grasp of Nanking. The secret behind it is the incapacity of Nanking to inflict a political defeat on Red China, no matter what its capacity to gain military laurels might be. The political idea behind Red China is invincible. The tormented peasantry welcomes it and aspires for liberation from feudal and militarist oppression. It forms a part of the Red Army. The Communists make it a liberal grant of arms, which Nanking, due to its social

structure of big landlords, may not do. The red peasantry supports the regular forces of the Red Army by what is commonly known as "partisan action" against the enemy. Not only is the enemy's rear harassed which makes his advance difficult, but the red peasantry is a reservoir of constant reinforcements to the Red Army. The Unity of China that Communists are working for is that built on the democratic equation of the masses with the State, after a restless elimination of all militarist and feudal interests.

Japanese invasion of North China has brought Nanking, Left Koumintang and Red China together. Reports indicate that where Red China has submitted itself to the unified political and military command of Nanking, the Central Government in turn does not hesitate to put Communists into responsible positions. For the first time in modern history, China is putting up a united people's resistance to imperialism. The Northern Expeditionary Force was no doubt directed, in one of its ends, against imperialism but it never came to an actual fight. The battles of Shanghai, 1931-32, were both short-lived and local and were neither preceded nor followed by a united front of the Chinese people. The last six months have written a new page in Chinese history. China is fighting for freedom against imperialism. This fight is united. Competent observers are, therefore, suggesting that, even if it came to the worst and China is defeated, out of this defeat will emerge the united national will of the Chinese people for freedom. It will be a "constructive defeat."

Defeat will not be half so bad as desertion. Groups may not be wanting which would like to seize opportunities for peace or compromise with Japan. That will be desertion and will surely lead to a further period of civil wars. No doubt, there is no important group of mass following that today talks of compromise with Japan nor does it seem likely to arise in the future.

In any event, the most likely development appears

also to be the most hopeful. Whether defeat or victory, the Chinese people will come out of the war with a deepened content of the Three Principles and a reaffirmed faith. Nationalism will mean removal of all vestiges of territorial and economic control of imperialism. Democracy will mean progressive expression of the will of the people, which will be safeguarded through liberties of expression, association and peaceful action. People's Living will mean basic reconstruction of the nation's economy, abolition of landed estates and curtailment of rights of capital.

General Chiang Kai Shek has a majority of the people with him. Commander Chu Teh has proved an expert in "partisan action." There is sure to be a diversity in the rates of development of the two systems that these represent. It is only to be hoped that neither system will permit this diversity to assume such serious proportions as to jeopardise the Unity of China. Nor would this unity have any meaning if it includes within its fold feudal militarists and does not make adequate provision for democratic growth.

China like India is discovering unity through national freedom and political democracy. The two peoples have endured in history.

January, 1938

CHINESE CHRONOLOGY

- 1839—42 : First Opium War between Britain and China ; China cedes Hongkong to Britain and opens Canton and four other ports to foreign residence and commerce.
- 1856—60 : Britain and France war on China ; Treaties of Tientsin.
- 1864 : Americans and English help crush the T'ai P'ing movement.
- 1894—95 : Sino-Japanese war over Korea ; China acknowledges Korean independence ; Japan takes Formosa and Pescadores ; Russia permitted to build Trans-Siberian railway across Manchuria.
- 1897 : Germany seizes Kiaochow.
- 1898 : Port Arthur leased to Russia ; Wei-hai-wei to Britain.
- 1899 : "Open door" policy in regard to China.
- 1900 : Boxer revolt against foreign control ; Russia seizes Manchuria.
- 1904—5 : Russo-Japanese war over Manchuria ; Japan seizes Port Arthur.
- 1907 : China regains control over Manchuria ; Korea a Japanese protectorate.
- 1910 : Japan annexes Korea.
- 1911 : Sun Yat Sen head of provisional Chinese Republic.
- 1912 : Founding of Koumintang.
- 1913 : Republic suppressed.
- 1919 : Japan obtains mandates of former German Pacific islands north of Equator and Kiao-chow and other holdings in Shantung

- 1920 : Sun Yat Sen sets up constitutional Government in Canton.
- 1922 : Li Yuan-hung President of China ; Sun Yat Sen defeated in south, Chang Tso-lin in north.
- 1925 : Death of Sun Yat Sen.
- 1925—26 : Year-long General Strike in Hongkong ; Strikes elsewhere.
- 1926 : Northern Expeditionary Force advances.
- 1928 : Chiang Kai-shek President of China ; Nanking capital ; series of civil wars.
- 1931—32 : Japan captures Manchuria ; sets up the State of Manchukuo.
- 1933 : Japan captures Jehol.
- 1935 : Russia sells Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan.
- 1937— : Japan invades North China ; Cessation of civil war in China ; United People's resistance to Japanese invasion.

Foreign Investments in China (Remer's calculations, 1931)¹
 in Rs. 000,000.

		Business Invest- ments	Govern- ment Loans	Total	Per cent
Great Britain	..	2673	671	3294	49
Japan	..	999 ²	621	1620	24
U. S. A.	..	432	121.5 ³	553.5	8
France	..	256.5	270	526.5	8
Belgium	..	108	135	243	4
Germany	..	202.5	40.5	243	4
Italy	..	13.5	121.5	135	2
Netherlands	..	27	54	81	1
Scandinavia	..	5.4	2.7	8.1	—
Total	..	4716.9	1987.2	6704.1	

¹ Aside from wide variance in different estimates, there have been since 1931 additional foreign investments in China. Up-to-date, the total of foreign investments in China will be anywhere between Rs. 10,000 million and Rs. 15,000 million.

² Japanese investments in Manchuria amount to another Rs. 3,000 million, bringing the total of Japanese investments in China to Rs. 4,620 million.

³ The United States has extended further credits to Nanking. News of two recent loans of Rs. 300 million is available. That would bring the total of American investments in China to nearly Rs. 900 million.

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